Card

**8** MAR 1959

Admiral Arleigh Burke Chief of Neval Operations Department of Defense Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Arleigh:

Reference is made to your letter of 8 January, 1959, enclosing a Navy staff study, together with ONI comments, on the subject of exploiting possible differences between the USER and the People's Republic of China. I wrote you an interim reply on 12 January.

As you undoubtedly have been advised, General Erskine chaired a meeting in his office on 19 February which was attended by Admiral William Miller and Captain George Raring, both of your office, and Messrs.

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of my staff. I am told that at the meeting there was a detailed discussion of the Navy suggestions, which incidentally we considered constructive and useful, and the CIA representatives indicated that they would be glad to consider and discuss any further specific recommendations along similar lines. As we pointed out, we have a number of efforts devoted to achieving the objectives suggested by the Navy study and new ideas are always welcome.

I also understand that General Erskins proposes, as a result of the discussion, to bring the Navy suggestions to the attention of Mr. Quarles in order that he can consider the possibility that U.S. policy should be smanded to call for an even stronger effort toward encouraging or aggrevating Sino-Soviet friction than now directed. In my opinion, no such review is necessary but I have, of course, no objection to the point being raised with Mr. Quarles. Let me, however, refer you to the recent Mational Intelligence Estimate on the "Main Trends in Soviet Capabilities and Policies, 1958-1963" (NIE 11-4-56) in which we conclude that the parallelism of material, strategic and ideological interests will continue to weigh decisively in favor of comenting the alliance between the USER and the PRC even though frictions over a variety of questions may from time to time make the relationship a sensitive and difficult one.

STATE, NAVY review(s) completed.



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At any rate, thanks again for your interest, and please let me know if you have any further comments on this matter.

Sincerely,

Allen W. Dulles Director

Deputy Director (Plans)

A/DD/P/

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January 12, 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Bissell, DD/P

Mr. Helms, COPS

Mr. Barnes, A/DD/P/P

I have sent a preliminary acknowledgment of the paper which Arleigh Burke has sent, and which is attached. I suggest that this should be looked at by FE, the PP staff, and CIO, and that their coordinated comments come back through you to me for Arleigh.

So far I have only glanced over the paper.

Allen W. Dulies
Director

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#### Enclosure

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JAN 14 25, 111, 150

January 12, 1959

Admiral Arleigh Burke Chief of Naval Operations Department of Defense Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Arleigh:

I appreciate your note of 8 January 1959, enclosing a staff study by the Navy, together with ONI comments thereon, dealing particularly with the exploitation of inherent differences between the USSR and the Peoples Republic of China.

This is a very interesting theme and one to which we have given considerable attention. I am asking the competent people over here, on a highly classified basis, to give this paper thorough study, and I shall be in touch with you later when I have the results of their work.

I sincerely appreciate your letting us have a chance to study this paper.

Faithfully yours,

5/

Allen W. Dulles
Director

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CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS

PERSONAL TOP SECRET

8 January 1959

Dear Allen:

Enclosed is a staff study by the Navy.

I am sure you are already working on many of the ideas in this paper but, perhaps, there might be something in here that will be useful to you.

This is a rough draft paper only and you will note that I enclose a statement by ONI which doesn't quite support the optimistic view contained in the paper of the results to be expected.

Warm Regards.

Sincerely,

ARLEIGH BURKE

The Honorable Allen Dulles Director of Central Intelligence Washington, D. C.

Encl.

PERSONAL - TOP SECRET

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30 December 1958

Subjects ONI Comments on Cold War Operation Plan

- 1. The following comments are submitted:
  - a. Intelligence:

The intelligence pertinent to this paper is contained in paragraph 2 (SITUATION) and paragraph 3 (DISCUSSION). The basic intelligence pertaining to the instability of the USSR - PRC alliance is considered to be accurate. However, ONI does not believe a split between the USSR and the PRC is as imminent as indicated. Recent events connected with the PRC communes indicate that the Seviet Union wields considerable influence in the PRC. Therefore, the major point of difference between ONI and the views presented in this paper has to do with the imminence of a real break rather than the eventuality of such a break.

#### b. Evaluation of the CONCEPT OF OPERATIONS.

The general course of action is considered to be sound. However, Communist political leaders are themselves masters of the sophisticated appreach in "divide and conquer" operations. Therefore, this portion of the plan - initially at least - should not be expected to produce substantial results. It may become counter productive once the Communists realize that the U.S. (West) is employing this tactic. Should this occur it may be necessary to shift the emphasis from the Communist leaders to the peoples of the two countries.

It is believed that sufficient genuine events and statements exist as to make unnecessary the use of fictitious items. Utilization of genuine events would avoid the danger of having any portion of the overall plan discredited.

Allan L. Rood

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Appendix to
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3 1 DEC 1958

#### PHYCHOLOGICAL - DECEMBER COLD VAR OPERATION PLAN

#### 1. CANTITUTE.

To divide the Communist world into two competitive had bestile blocs by exploitation of the inherent cumplaient and latest antagenisms existing between USSR and the Peoples Republic of China (PRC).

### STRATION.

- a. Ressia and the PRC share the longest international boundary is the world.
- b. PRC is hard pressed to feed its 680 million people. Estimates place the CHICOM population at 1 billion by 1980. The CHICOM long tange planners soon must face up to the major problem of how to feed this population.
- c. Eastern Russia is sparsely settled and has a relatively high percentage of arable land.
- d. SE Asia can absorb only a small part of emcous CHICON population. The most natural outlet for CHICON expansion is in the direction of historic Hongol aggression; that is westward.
- e. PRC is an amiatic nation with despected recentments against the West. Basically the Russians are included in this resentment, first because the Russian power elite is Cameasian and secondly because Russia participated in the wholesale exploitation of China during the 19th and early 30th conturies.
  - 1. Despite its isolation Russia is fundamentally European. Its people, culture, and history are identified with the Vest. The CHICOM economic and population expansion should, at least to some extent, revive the "Yellow Peril" fears in the Russian people.
  - unsatural. The primary bond between the two actions is a mixture of Communist degme and a paranoise belief that only by joining together against their common enemy, the West, will they be able to survive. The mesoent rivalry between USER and the PRC, the discimilarity of their peoples and culture, and their peographical contiguity will operate to split the alliance. Yugoslavia is one example of the fact that a common belief in Communism may not be a sufficient bond, particularly when that belief is subject to hereay. However the disruptive forces that were present in the case of Tugoslavia do not appear to be nearly as strong as those latent in the USSR-PRC alliance, Reproduction of this document in whole or in part is prohibited
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leadership of the Communist world, particularly as regards the Afro-Asian nations. These descriptes feel akin to the PMS since it is a non-white and a previously emploited nation. The Afro-Asian nations see the spectacular mattered for II communes of China as the mirror image of their own ambitions.

- i. Both USSR and the PRC are police states with all the associated phobias inherent in that type government. Because both nations practice deceit and intrigue is dealing with the West they are each psychologically conditioned to accept evidence that the other is scheming against it.
- j. In event of an all out war Russia would be the primary target of US nuclear delivery forces and would suffer devastation to the extent that political control of the satelline sations and of Russia proper would be lost. The CHICOMS will species much less megatons than Russia and their dispersed occasing is less vulnerable. As a result and in the event the US is unable to follow up its nuclear attack by military and political actions in Eurasia the CHICOMS would emerge as the real victors. Russian planners probably are aware of this contingency.
- k. Russia looted Manchuria immediately following World War II. Russia did this while simultaneously supporting the CHICOMS in the civil war against the GRC forces. The conclusion is either (1) Russia deliberately robbed its own ally or (2) it did not expect the CHICOMS to win. The first alternative is more logical and probably correct.
- 1. The recently constituted CHICOM "People Communes" are directly opposed to the traditionally strong Chinese family relationships. They represent a vulnerable and unstable aspect in CHICOM society.

#### 3. DISCUSSION.

- a. There is a growing world-wide appreciation of the foregoing facts. The attached clipping and dispatch are typical of this trend. Tito recently stated that the CHICOMS blasts against him were in reality directed towards Moscow. This climate of opinion provides fertile ground for artifically expediting Sino-Seviet breakup.
- b. Russia and CHICOM planners alike must be aware of the growing bi-polarity of the Communist world and that seemer or later a showdown will result. Russia has the more reason to be disturbed and suspicious; first because of the population factor, secondly because of the natural bends between the CHICOMs and the Afro-Asian nations, and finally because the Soviets know that the CHICOMs may benefit, in a replative seasont by an all-out nuclear war.

c. It is probable that CHICOM beliefs from in the recent Quemoy crisis went beyond Bussian planned limits and that the

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CHICOMs backed down only after the Soviets told them that would have to go it alone in a year with US. It very well to be that the Soviets, realizing they have begot a Frankrick would velocus a reduction of CHICON prestige insofar at the overall political power of the Communist blos is not haterially damaged.

- d. Russian planners are probably sufficiently realistic to realise that while the West opposes their goal of world domination it is only the CHICOMs in the long term that threaten the security of the Russian heartland by unprovoked aggression.
- e. It is a general rule of thumb that nations or people will most readily believe that which they fear. It is this fact plus the merbid mentality of the Soviet and CNICON leaders that makes a combined psychological-deception program feasible of accompliahmont.

#### 4. MISSION.

Through coordinated non-US attributable psychologicaldeception operations generate increased distrust, suspicion, and hostility between USSR and the PRO in order to:

- Critically weaken the political and military power of the Communist blee.
- Increase the deterrent to a surprise nuclear attack by DESE.
- c. Reduce CHICOM and Russian cold war resources by diverting their energies and attention from the West to what seems to be a more immediate and critical threat. At the best each nation may court the free world to win allies against the other, at the least the Sino-Seviet common front and pooled reservoes will be reduced.

#### 5. CONCEPT OF OPERATIONS.

a. A combination of deception and psychological operations would be employed to persuade the USSR and PRC leaders and peoples that each nation is hostile to the other and is planning against it. Sample themes of the stories and emaggerations to be passed are listed in paragraph 6. In general the deception operation would be sophisticated in nature and aimed for the political leaders while the psychological eperations would be more of the non-specific or unsubstantiated type and would be sirected to the temple. Both the deception and psychological eperations would be mutually supposed and in turn would be whole or in part is prohibited except with parallel and in turn would be whole or in part is prohibited

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supported by covert operations.

- b. The pregram should be initiated at a relatively slow tempo and in a lew key. As the program gains credence the progress of operations can be gradually accelerated. In any case ultimate success should not be risked for quick or short term results. It is probable that implementation will require at least several years when it can be expected that it will nove forward on its own momentum.
- c. Detailed implementing steps can not be set forth at this time. In general such steps would depend upon actual international political developments and the nature and apparent success of the proceeding phases of the program. The implementing agency should alosely follow all news releases and intelligence and be quick to exploit, distort, or exaggerate actual events. The slanting of real facts to support the program will do much to establish its credibility.
- d. Implementing steps will include the fellowing sategories. Other steps will suggest themselves as the problem is examined in more detail and implementation progresses.
- (1) Non-US attributable press accounts of fictitious events and statements.
- (2) Non-US attributable diplomatic leaks, both real and fictitious.
- (3) Loss or compromise of fictitious plane, diplomatic notes, and policy statements.
- (4) Leakage of real intelligence when it supports the program.
- (5) Oblique direction of the press and news commentators to international developments and side aspects thereof which support the program,
- (6) Covert generation of dictitious anti-Russian activities by asiatic minorities within Russia.
- (7) Dissemination of news to the world audience which hints indirectly at the main objectives to be achieved by the program.
- (8) Covert activities which indicate that Russia and the PRC are competing against each other for the deminating influence with neutral and Communist satellite nations.
- e. Implementation would best be accomplished by a small full time Ad-Hoc Group or task force with senior representation from

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State, CIA and DOD. The numbers should have seems to critical intelligence, have the full confidence of their agency chiefs, he experied to carry out remains implementing steps, and have a guick means of obtaining the requisite settlerity to angle out blace which enter into the policy field. Continuity of affect had the capability to act quickly an favorable situations are inside a knowledge of the operation should be restricted to the minimum personnel required. USIA would participate unknowingly and indirectly. The fact that it is the WE government propagation agency limits its usefulness and east doubt upon the credibility of any story it might attempt to disseminate. The press and columnists would also be unknowingly manipulated through leaks and off the record discountions.

#### 6. MAJOR THEMES

- a. ANTI-CHICON for the RUSSIAN andience.
- (1) In 1980 the Chinese population will be 1 billion. Long before that figure is reached Chine must and will expand into Russia.
- (2) The CHICOMs secretly are attempting to incite a nuclear war between US and USSR in the expectation that they will emerge as the dominant power of Eurasia. The Chinese know that Russia will absorb the bulk of the US atomic stockpile and that they stand to win in a US-USSR muclear emphase.
- (3) During the Quemey situation the CHICOMS risked nuclear war with the US for a few small rocky islands. Although these islands were of no use or interest to the Russian people they, and not the CHICOMS, would have been killed by the tens of millions if war had resulted.
- (4) Mongolian minorities in Eastern Russia are a fifth column who will support the CHICOMs in a showdown and even now are plotting with the CHICOMs against the Soviet government.
- (5) The CHICON leaders and people deep down hate the Russian people. They remember Russian exploitation of China and consider Russians with all other white nations in one category as the Boxers did under the epithet of "fereign devils".
- (6) Russian leaders are blind to the safety of their own people. These leaders are more concerned with the dissemination of abstract Communist doctrine to remote parts of the world than with the protection of the lives and homes of their own people against the "Yellow Peril".

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- (7) The so called Chinese Peoples Communes are in yeality self sufficient military units. Back commune has its own militia and these units eventually will be established along the entire husmian border. At the proper time these commune militia units will act as the spenshood of CHICOM aggression into Bussia.
- (8) The primary reason why the Russian standard of living is lower than that of a German, Englishman, or American is because the fruits of Russian toil are being poured into a bottomless pit in an effort to raise the standard of living of the incompetent and shiftless CHIGON. This is a vain and unending task because the Chinese app multiplying so fast that their demands will always be in enumer of Russian productivity, leaving nothing for the Russian eitiess. It is an ironic situation when it is realized the Chinese people are enemies of the Russians, their traditions, and their rese.

#### b. ANTI-RUSSIAN for the CHICON sudience.

- (1) China is so crowled that its people starve. Russia has more land than its need and fertile ground in Russia lies fallow. The Russians are hypocrites the preach Marx and sharing the wealth but in reality are selfish dags in the manger the refuse to allow the Chinese to use the land they do not need.
- (2) The Bussians stripped Manchuria, the only beavily industrialized area of pre-war China. As a result the Chinese people are subject to great hardships and the commune system of living. If the Chinese still had the industrial plant of Manchuria intact they could expert more finished products for the feed they so badly need, Communes would not be necessary and the Chinese people could live with their wives and children.
- (3) The Russians have a contempt for the Chinese. They did not care how many Chinese soldiers were killed in the Korean war which was fought for Russian national objectives and Russian today is profiting from Korea, not the Chinese people who died in defending it against aggression.
- (4) The Russians mistrest and victimise the Mongolian minorities in contern Siberia. This is but one more example of the basic Russian contempt for the Chinese and the "inferior" yellow race.
- (5) The Russians forced the removal of Mae Tue Sung because he fought for the Chinese people against selfish Russian ambitions. The Russians replaced line with a puppet who will carry out Mesons orders employing the Chinese people to enrich Russia. If the Chinese people are to improve their lot, eliminate

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the necessity for the Community and live with their vives and children they must east off the Russian yeke.

- (6) Rumain emploited the Chinese and seized territory and privileges by force under the Trare. At that time the Mighed States through its "Open Boor" policy prevented further Russian emploitation. However the United States used the indensity it received from the Nessey Rebollion for the velfare of the Chinese people. The Russians have never changed, they are still emaine of thin and now have alienated the Chinese people from their one true friend, the United States.
- (7) Russia will continue to use the lives of Chinese soldiers to advance its own selfish interests. Then the victory is won it is the Russians the profit, not the Chinese. The Chinese are a entersy for the Russians.

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TOP SECRET

### Mao Mystery

His Quitting as Head of the Chinese munist Regime Sparks Speculation, But the Boss Is

-By William Henry Chamberlin

Thile the world ponders the resignation of cumg as head of the Red Chinese it is possible to gain at least a tit into the perplexities of Pelping politi re-examining the man himself and by the strategy which brought him to powe

ho has seem the cheese because chairmanship of the Chinese Party. Yet it is something of a put the change was made at all and wheth means a downgrading, an upgrading merely a meaningless transfer for the chief architect of Communism in China.

One theory has it that Mao, who apparently fancies himself as some kind of chin-inhand Marxist philosopher, wanted to be relieved of some administrative chores in order to devote himself to theoretical labors. Philocophical learning has always been esteemed n China and Mao may very well see hima Marxian Confucius, laying down cial and economic rules for the new has done so much to create. He ly has been mulling Communist applicability to China since doctribut a guerrilla resistance the days was to the National remote areas of the

Contradicts View

When Japan launched against China in 1987, Mao cois view that occupation of ports and by the Japanese would mean victor Chinese strategy," he wrote, "should be? of a war of maneuver; over an extende shifting and indefinite front: A strategy depending for success on a high degree of mobility in difficult terrain, and featured by swift attack and withdrawal, swift concentration and dispersal . . . Japan's economy will crack under the strain of a long expentive occupation of China and the morale of e but indecisive battles." r forces will break under a trial of impl-

neral Wederneyer points out in his Reports!" Mao worked out a by of his own during this pese Chinese struggle. While chinese struggle. While that Nationalist units were decimated in must struggle with Japanese forces super Ceneralship, training and weapons, the point is Chinese Communists was to avoid in the Daniel heavy rtles of casualties, to attack only Japanese and, while going this tions of accepting Chiang's loss work always for their own cause. with his love of rationalizing every step took, instructed his followers:

"The Sino-Japanese war affords our party an excellent opportunity for expansion. Our A natice shauld be 70% essessantion, 20% dealing with the Rusminian ing Japan."

Just as Lenin emerged as the in World War I between Russia and many, so Mao was the beneficiary of the long war on Chinese soil between Japan an the Chinese Nationalist government. Japan's defeat came too late to mave the latter from the consequences of the shattering of its political administration and the exhaustion of its economic and financial resources

Conflicting interpretations of Marxist-Leninist theory are as important to Communists copposing views of religious dogma have times of strife between religion and If may be that one of Mao's new to claim primacy for China nation, on the ground that into which the peasants its new have been eliminating go much further in rty and destroying n anything atindividual family tempted in the Boviets

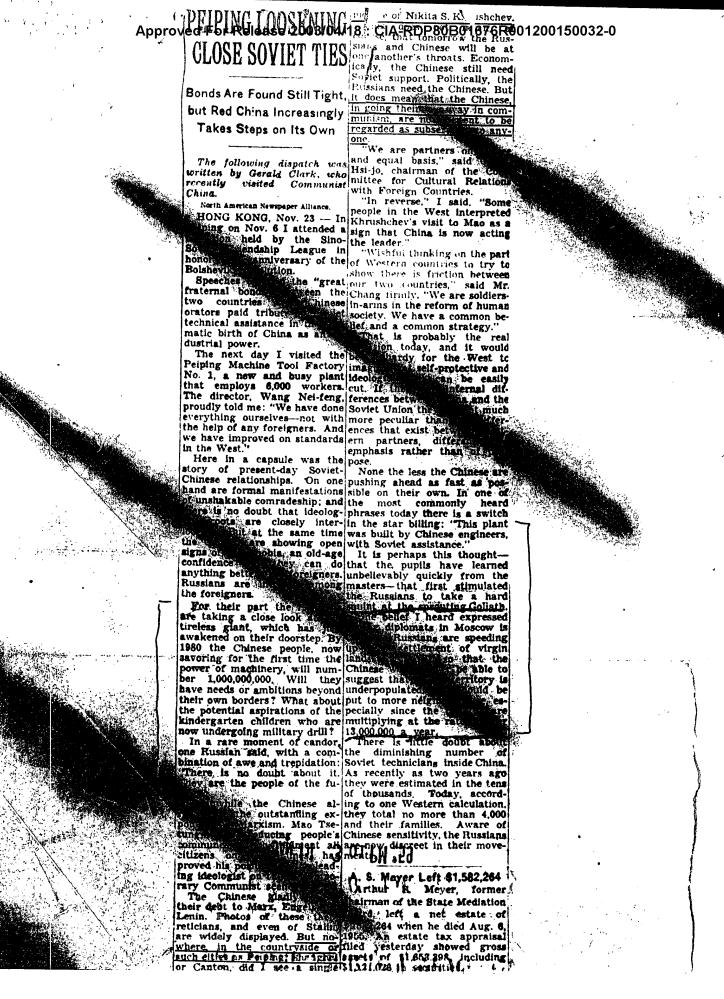
There may also be ac tween Mao's transfer and ac recent political developments in hard to believe that the failure to any serious objective by the bombarus of Quemoy has been altogether without co sequence for the face of the Red govern-ment. Quemoy did not fall. There was no split, between the United States and the Chinese Nationalists. There was no internal upheaval, calculated to sarve Communist purposes, in Formosa.

It may be that we have not heard the last word about the daring experiment with the immunes, where husbands are separated in wives in working gangs, parents are from children and everyone is or the simplest necessities of on a scale almost unimag-Chinese inable in its was a constant asset for Communist. Yet even poor people may resent that of the communist. If there have been sufficiently found expressions of discontent, the substitution of another figure for Mao as head of the government might seem logical.

Khrushchev's Revenge?

There has been much speculation, especially in Warsaw, that Mao has been in friendly touch with some of Khrushchev's political opponents in the Soviet Union. If this is true, Khrushchev might have been able to strike back and influence the transfer of Mao Tee-tung.

The unfolding course of events will probably show more clearly whether the change in Mao's official position has affected his status as China's top Communist. But of one thing we may be sure: Political changes in Communist capitals do not occur without a reason. Now we must wait for time or Peiping to tell us what that reason is.



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